# Message Text

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FOLLOWING REPEAT USUN NEW YORK 1726 ACTION SECSTATE INFO BONN CAPE TOWN DAR ES SALAAM GABORONE LAGOS LONDON LUSAKA MAPUTO OTTAWA PARIS PRETORIA APR 29.

QUOTE: CONFIDENTIAL USUN NEW YORK 01726

CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PORG, UNGA, SF, WA

SUBJECT: NAMIBIA: APRIL 28 CONTACT GROUP MEETING WITH SENIOR REPRESENTATIVES OF AFRICAN AND OTHER GOVERNMENTS

1. SUMMARY: CONTACT GROUP PERMREPS MET WITH SENIOR REPS OF A NUMBER OF AFRICAN COUNTRIES, INDIA, AND GUYANA MORNING APRIL 28 FOR A DISCUSSION OF CURRENT STATUS OF WESTERN FIVE'S NAMIBIA INITIATIVE. IN RESPONSE TO QUESTIONS ABOUT NATURE OF SOUTH AFRICAN ACCEPTANCE OF THE FIVE'S SETTLEMENT PROPOSAL, GROUP EXPLAINED THAT IT WAS WITHOUT QUALIFICATIONS; THERE COULD BE NO CHANGE IN THE PROPOSAL AT THIS STAGE. ON WALVIS BAY, PERMREPS SAID THEIR GOVERNMENTS WERE PREPARED TO MAKE STATEMENTS ON ITS FUTURE ONLY IF SWAPO ACCEPTED THE PROPOSAL. US CONFIDENTIAL

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SAID SITUATION IN NAMIBIA WAS DETERIORATING AND THAT FIVE'S PROPOSAL OFFERED AN OPPORTUNITY FOR A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT WHICH MIGHT BE LOST IF NOT IMPLEMENTED QUICKLY. MEETING WAS CONSTRUCTIVE, BUT IT REMAINS UNCERTAIN WHETHER AFRICANS WILL BE WILLING TO INCREASE PRESSURE ON SWAPO. END SUMMARY.

- 2. THE CONTACT GROUP MET MORNING APRIL 28 WITH A NUMBER OF SENIOR REPS OF AFRICAN GOVERNMENTS AND OTHERS TO DISCUSS CURRENT STATUS OF WESTERN INITIATIVE ON NAMIBIA AND WHAT MIGHT BE DONE TO BRING ABOUT SWAPO'S ACCEPTANCE OF OUR PROPOSAL. THE FIVE WERE REPRESENTED AT THE PERMREP LEVEL. OTHERS PRESENT INCLUDED PRESIDENTIAL ADVISOR OLGA LIMA OF ANGOLA, AMB TLOU OF BOTSWANA, FOREIGN MINISTER JACKSON OF GUYANA, MINISTER OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS VAJPAYEE AND AMB JAIPAL OF INDIA, FOREIGN MINISTER AKE AND AMB THIEMELE OF IVORY COAST, FOREIGN MINISTER WAIYAKI AND AMB MAINA OF KENYA. FOREIGN MINISTER DENNIS AND AMB THOMAS OF LIBERIA, AMB RAMPHUL OF MAURITIUS, PRESIDENTIAL ADVISER/CENTRAL BANK CHAIRMAN VIEIRA AND AMB LOBO OF MOZAMBIQUE, AMB HARRIMAN OF NIGERIA, AMB KONIE OF ZAMBIA, AND COMMONWEALTH SECRETARY GENERAL RAMPHUL. (FOREIGN MINISTERS MWALE OF ZAMBIA AND MKAPA OF TANZANIA WERE UNABLE TO ATTEND. COMMISSIONER GARBA OF NIGERIA HAD ALREADY LEFT TOWN.)
- 3. AFTER AMB YOUNG WELCOMED THE GROUP, AMB MCHENRY EXPLAINED THAT FOR BOTH SWAPO AND SOUTH AFRICA EMOTIONAL AS WELL AS SUBSTANTIVE ISSUES WERE INVOLVED IN A NAMIBIA SETTLEMENT. HE EMPHASIZED THAT IN THE WAKE OF THE SAG ACCEPTANCE SWAPO NOW HAD A CHOICE BETWEEN ACCEPTING WHAT WE REGARD AS A FAIR SETTLEMENT OR BLOODSHED. BY ITS ACCEPTANCE, THE SAG HAD "STOLEN THE CONFIDENTIAL

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HIGH GROUND." IT WAS NO LONGER POSSIBLE TO SAY THAT THEY HAD NOT MADE CONCESSIONS. BY CONTRAST, THE PAPER SWAPO PRESIDENT JUJOMA HAD GIVEN SECRETARY VANCE APRIL 27 APPEARED TO RAISE ANEW ALL THE ISSUES DISCUSSED IN NEW YORK IN FEBRUARY. MCHENRY THEN SUMMARIZED THE RESULTS OF THE MEETING WITH THE SECRETARY.

4. KONIE OF ZAMBIA AND VIEIRA OF MOZAMBIQUE QUESTIONED WHETHER THE SAG'S ACCEPTANCE WAS NOT, IN FACT, "QUALIFIED" AS A RESULT OF VORSTER'S EXPLANATION IN PARLIAMENT. MCHENRY REPLIED THAT THE ACCEPTANCE HAD NOT BEEN QUALIFIED AND THAT WE SHOULD REGARD VORSTER'S STATEMENT AS BEING DIRECTED TO HIS DOMESTIC AUDIENCE. DEPUTY PERMREP LAPOINTE OF CANADA POINTED OUT THAT VORSTER HAD NOT SUGGESTED ANY CHANGES IN THE PROPOSAL ITSELF AND THAT ALTHOUGH THE FIVE WERE READY AGAIN TO CLARIFY THEIR POSITION, AS THEY HAD IN THE FRG SPEECH APRIL 26, THERE COULD BE NO CHANGE IN THE PROPOSAL AT THIS STAGE. AMB YOUNG EXPLAINED THAT WE HAD TAKEN THE PROPOSAL AS FAR AS WE THOUGHT WE COULD AND THAT IT WOULD NOT BE HELPFUL TO GO BACK TO THE PARTIES. INSTEAD, WE SHOULD TAKE IT TO THE SECURITY COUNCIL AND

#### IMPLEMENT IT.

5. GREATER PART OF THE DISCUSSION FOCUSED ON WALVIS BAY, VIEWED BY THE AFRICANS AS THE MAIN IMPEDIMENT TO SECURING SWAPO'S AGREEMENT. THE AFRICANS WANTED TO KNOW IF THE US (AND THE OTHER CONTACT GROUP MEMBERS) WERE PREPARED TO MAKE A STATEMENT ON THE ENCLAVE, AND IF SO, WHEN. MCHENRY SAID THAT WE WERE PREPARED TO DO AS SO AS SOON AS SWAPO AGREED TO OUR PROPOSAL. IF NECESSARY, THE ANNOUNCEMENTS COULD EVEN BE SIMULTANEOUS. MCHENRY EXPLAINED THAT WE HAD INFORMED NUJOMA OF THIS AT THE TIME OF PRESIDENT CARTER'S VISIT TO LAGOS. AMB HARRIMAN OF NIGERIA SAID NUJOMA SEEMED TO HAVE IMPRESSION US HAD PROMISED A MORE CATEGORICAL STATEMENT THAN IT CONFIDENTIAL.

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NOW SEEMED PREPARED TO MAKE. MCHENRY REPLIED THAT WE HAD, IN FACT, GIVEN NUJOMA A COPY OF THE STATEMENT WE WOULD BE PREPARED TO MAKE.

6. DURING COURSE OF THE DISCUSSION, UK, FRG, FRENCH, AND CANADIANS INDICATED WILLINGNESS OF THEIR GOVERN-MENTS TO MAKE A STATEMENT PATTERNED ALONG LINES OF THAT PROPOSED BY US. THE FIVE MADE IT CLEAR THAT THEY COULD GO NO FURTHER (E.G. DECLARING WALVIS BAY TO BE AN INTEGRAL PART OF NAMIBIA) BECAUSE OF THE HISTORICAL AND JURIDICAL BACKGROUND OF WALVIS BAY. AS TO AFRICAN FEARS THAT THE SAG MIGHT USE WALVIS BAY TO BLACKMAIL OR THREATEN AN INDEPENDENT NAMIBIA, THE FIVE REPLIED THAT ONCE NAMIBIA GAINS ITS INDEPENDENCE THE SITUATION WOULD BE DIFFERENT, AND SOUTH AFRICA, WHICH FOR REASONS OF PRIDE AND DOMESTIC POLITICS FEELS IT MUST NOW REASSERT ITS CLAIMS TO THE TERRITORY, MAY WELL BE WILLING TO LOOK AT THE ISSUE IN A DIFFERENT LIGHT. LEPRETTE OF FRANCE ADDED THAT IN ANY EVENT THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY WOULD BE ABLE TO PUT MORE PRESSURE ON SOUTH AFRICA THAN IS NOW THE CASE.

7. TO A QUESTION FROM VIEIRA WHETHER THE FIVE WOULD BE PREPARED NOT TO VOTE AGAINST A SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION RECOGNIZING WALVIS BAY AS PART OF NAMIBIA, MCHENRY REPLIED THAT WE WERE NOT PREPARED TO ANSWER, BUT IF THIS MEANT EXTENDING THE SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE'S POWERS TO WALVIS BAY THEN THE ANSWER WAS NO.

8. MCHENRY SAID THAT THE US HAD NO INTENTION OF DROPPING THE WALVIS BAY ISSUE. HOWEVER, WHILE WE WANT TO RESOLVE THE ENTIRE NAMIBIAN PROBLEM, WE SHOULD NOT HOLD UP A PRACTICAL SOLUTION TO THE GREATEST PART CONFIDENTIAL.

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OF THE PROBLEM OVER WALVIS BAY. HE POINTED OUT THAT THE SITUATION INSIDE NAMIBIA IS DETERIORATING AND THE NEED FOR ACTION ON THE FIVE'S PROPOSAL IS URGENT. HE STRESSED THAT WE MIGHT NOT HAVE ANOTHER CHANCE TO EFFECT A SETTLEMENT IN NAMIBIA FOR A LONG TIME--AND THEN ONLY AFTER CONSIDERABLE BLOODSHED.

9. COMMENT: MEETING WAS FRIENDLY AND CONSTRUCTIVE THROUGHOUT, WITH ALL PARTICIPANTS SHOWING A STRONG WILLINGNESS TO COOPERATE. THE EXCHANGE OF VIEWS WAS USEFUL FOR ALL ATTENDING, ALTHOUGH ULTIMATE SUCCESS, IN TERMS OF ENCOURAGING AFRICANS TO BRING INCREASED PRESSURE TO BEAR ON SWAPO, REMAINS UNCERTAIN. YOUNG UNQUOTE CHRISTOPHER

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